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THE UNDIFFERENTIATED MASS

By George Morgenstern

Ninety-six Americans -- possessing no credentials for wisdom beyond that of their fellows -- have been summoned to resolve a question fateful to the nation. In its narrowest statement, this is whether the President is to be controlled by Congress in his disposition of American troops abroad in time of peace. Implicit in this decision are matters of limitless scope, reaching as far into the future as into the past.

Among these is whether the President is to have untrammeled authority over foreign policy, military strategy and the decision for war. Beyond this, Congress would decide whether the United States is to retain its national integrity, or is rather to yield its power into the hands of other nations little concerned with its interests or fate, but greatly preoccupied with the uses they could make of it.

The immediate issue is whether additional American troops are to go to Europe, there to be consigned to duty not in the service of their own country but as auxiliaries of a new undefined international organization. This apparatus, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, involves 12 nations, eight of them solidly rooted in the Continent, while another -- Great Britain -- has long played a determining part in European affairs.

Among the monitory and exhortatory voices, two extremes of counsel are advanced in the hope of guiding the United States Senate. One is represented by the editorial voice of the New York Times: "What we want from our statesmen these days is a sense of the global mission of the United States." The other is the voice of a former President of the United States: "I'm not ashamed of advocating defense of the United States first."

That Herbert Hoover or any American should have mentioned the necessity of apologizing for being a patriot shows how much our national spirit has changed since the days of Washington's Farewell Address.

II

It is not necessary to recall to Senators and to informed citizens generally that in an earlier day the story of Philip Nolan, "The Man Without a Country", was held up to youth as the supreme tragedy. Now the

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act of denying allegiance to one's country is sponsored by the Administration presently constituting the Government of the United States.

Naive as Hale's tragic character may seem in an age thrilled by the discovery of Wendell Willkie that the globe is round and the durn thing is of a piece, that story was once deeply appreciated by Americans. It was written during the Civil War, a struggle fought to preserve the Union. The integrity and cohesion of the American nation was the paramount issue. This was nationalism -- a fighting creed.

Nationalism was an important factor in the development of Western Civilization. It has had a long and at times slow growth, but its triumph was as certain as the revolution of the wheels of time. In the Middle Ages, although the Church provided a sort of universal order, European civil society was fragmented by thousands of feudal lordships. An hereditary caste of warrior-rulers possessing the soil was ordained to rule the hereditary caste of peasant-serfs who tilled it.

With the rise of the towns, the principle of self-government developed as a counterpoise to the authoritarian feudal political order. The unified state was brought about when townsmen put their strength behind the king because he promised the peace -- necessary to trade -- which a turbulent nobility had failed to provide. Parliaments came into being when the princes called upon their subjects for money and arms.

From its beginnings, therefore, nationalism was synonymous with constructive achievement. It impaired the system of bondage. For the anarchy of warring nobles it substituted order and stability. Self-government spread from the towns to the nation. It did not happen all at once. In Europe the process did not come to a head until the French Revolution fused the estates into a single legal class of citizens. The institutional accomplishments of nationalism were a central government, internal order, deliberative assemblies, the rise of national spirit and an economic and social system progressively developing under law.

In the end, as Ferdinand Schevill put it, Europe "embraced many different peoples, who refused to be merged into an undifferentiated mass and who, stubbornly retaining their inherited characteristics, clung, above all, to that symbol of separateness, their respective languages". They "were strongly inclined to go their separate ways".

So, too, on the American continent, were people inclined to fashion their separate ways. Throughout the length of the two hemispheres, efforts were made to tie them to Europe -- by Spain, by France, by Holland, by England. By 1776 the American colonists had been dragged through four European wars. The American Revolution was accomplished, and the Con-

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stitution of the United States enunciated, before the consummation in Europe of the Rousseauan doctrine that sovereignty, or all political power, belonged to the people, considered as individuals, not as estates.

III

Nationalism through all these centuries was a pervasive and persuasive idea. It evoked enthusiasm and commanded devotion when Joan of Arc rallied France against the English, when Spain struggled to throw off the Moorish yoke, when William of Orange contested with the Duke of Alva, when Bolivar liberated the Americas to the south, when the Italy of the risorgimento strained under Cavour and Garibaldi against the shackles of that international organization, the Papacy, and when modern Germany was forged by William I and Bismarck. Nationalism found its expositors in the Orient in Sun Yat-sen and Gandhi.

The compelling grasp of nationalism upon men's minds caused Woodrow Wilson, often accounted the Great Internationalist, to give respectful expression to its doctrine. Under his principle of "self-determination" the map of Europe was to be redrawn along national lines. No one had anything but praise for Masaryk and the other architects of the Succession States which arose from what was left of that other international imperium, the Hapsburg-Holy Roman Empire.

Although the United States was driven into the Second World War by a process which has been accurately described as the mortification of history -- the thesis of guilt and atonement for "betraying" its responsibilities to the world when it would have none of the League of Nations -- it is significant that nowhere except among Americans, and among relatively few of them, was there any infatuation with the internationalist idea: that men must be world citizens and world policemen before they could feel free to cultivate their own garden patch.

Hitler's Germany was animated by no such notion. It went to war over territorial claims to Danzig and the Polish Corridor. Russia, when its partner in spoliation turned upon it, rediscovered the primary appeal for the preservation of the motherland. Prime Minister Churchill expressed himself in nationalist terminology when he stated that he had not become the King's first minister to preside over the liquidation of the Empire. Even Mr. Roosevelt was cautious. In the drafting of the Atlantic Charter, he veered away from the proposal of Mr. Churchill that they pledge themselves to "effective international organization" in the post-war world. Mr. Roosevelt felt that any such statement would give rise to "suspicions and opposition" among his nationalist countrymen.

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The most forthright expression was provided by the present Prime Minister of Canada, Louis St. Laurent, who, at the time he spoke in 1942, was Minister of Justice. These are his words:

> "I do not feel any unworthiness in asserting that the duty of citizenship to bear arms and fight and die is a duty which the citizen owes only to his own country and its interests. Of course, the salvation of his own country and its interests may involve full participation in the joint ventures of his and other nations banded together in the common task of overcoming the common foe. But beyond that there is no obligation."

IV

The remarks of Mr. St. Laurent reinforce a prophecy of Arnold J. Toynbee, the British historian and propagandist, at the Princeton University Bicentennial Conference in 1947, characteristically dedicated to "The University and Its World Responsibilities". At that time, American intellectuals were acutely aware of their "world responsibilities".

"I would prophesy", said Mr. Toynbee, "that the future lies . . . in this island of North America with the Canadiens: Whatever the future of mankind in North America may be, I feel pretty confident that the French Canadians, at any rate, will be there at the end of the story."

Apparently nationalism has its compensations. While the internationalists are dying to save the world, the nationalist goes on living, and in time the world is his.

Mr. Toynbee was also bullish on the Negritos of Central Africa: "If Mankind is going to run amok with atom bombs, I personally would look to the Negrito Pygmies of Central Africa to salvage some fraction of the present heritage of Mankind. . . . The African Negritos are said by our anthropologists to have an unexpectedly pure and lofty conception of the nature of God and God's relation to Man. They might be able to give Mankind a fresh start; and, though we should then have lost the achievements of the last 6,000 to 10,000 years, what are 10,000 years compared to the 600,000 or 1,000,000 years for which the Human Race has been in existence?"

This detached and philosophical attitude may be commended to internationalist members of the United States Senate, who will note that the Negrito Pygmies, though possessing a pure and lofty conception of God and of God's relation to Man, are neither heard nor seen at Lake Success and are not considering contributing any levies to General Eisenhower's army in Europe. A prudent internationalist Senator who favors giving Mr. Truman a free hand is advised to look up the nearest Negrito Pygmy and entrust him with his watch for safekeeping.

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Not Merely Gossip *A Supplement to* Human Events Vol. VIII, No. 12

MAR 21 '51

By Frank C. Hanighen March 21, 1951

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE KEFAUVER PROBE: A Washington paper runs a cartoon picturing Senator Kefauver holding a bear by the tail. Indeed, as he begins to scratch the surface of the New York crime situation, the Tennessee Democratic Senator talks about bringing the investigation to a close. Meanwhile, columnist Doris Fleeson, usually reflecting views of the Left-wing of the Democratic Party, wants the probe to go on. So do the Republicans, who would not mind exposing the connections between the Democratic Party organizations in New York and organized crime. But many observers doubt that the Administration will permit any such thorough-going excavations.

At the same time, whatever might be said against former Mayor O'Dwyer, he did show up the connections between the self-righteous Senator Tobey -- whose tears over the spectacle of sin were a feature of the investigating committee -- and New York sources of money. It remained for the fighting publisher, William Loeb, Jr., of Manchester, New Hampshire, to make public the list of those who put up money for Tobey's campaign for re-election last fall. One of the names was "M. Lowenthal", which has led to curiosity as to whether this contributor was Max Lowenthal, who is a friend and advisor of President Truman, and who was questioned last fall by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

But neither Tobey, nor New Deal columnists, nor Mayor O'Dwyer show any signs of wanting to uncover one of the dirtiest chapters of the crime picture in New York. We mean the relationships between organized crime and the Communists, and between the Democratic organization and the latter. This picture has been partially exposed around New York, but is little known to the rest of the country. If such cesspools were opened, the deportment of Mr. Costello might appear, by comparison, almost sweet and pure.

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WHAT'S BEHIND THE KEFAUVER PROBE: Will this investigation, whether carried on further or not, result in constructive legislation? The average citizen wants to know what can be done about the power of organized crime. He can hardly be satisfied by tightening inter-state laws to catch the rascals. He can recall that repeal of Prohibition sent these rascals to other fields, principally that of gambling. Some might argue that sumptuary legislation like Prohibition failed, was bound to fail; that prohibition of gambling will fail too. One conclusion reached is that, therefore, the Government might better choose the path of legalizing gambling and trying to control it -- a question which the New York Times thoughtfully raises in an editorial today; that such a course might be the best way of breaking the power of the gangsters. Be that as it may. The Kefauver Committee seems far removed from that or any other radical concept about the solution of the problem. More and more that Committee's activities seem principally directed against "sin", and resemble those of the Anti-Saloon League "blue-noses" of twenty odd years ago.

But there are some in Washington who wonder if even less respectable purposes are behind the crime probe. Isn't there a clue in the absence of investigation of the Communist angle in the crime situation in New York? And hasn't the exposure of crime diverted attention from exposures of Communist activities?

The answer is -- it has. The appalling revelations in the trial of atom bomb spies have been effectively dimmed by the Kefauver hearings. In some newspapers the space accorded the actions of Costello crowd the atom bomb spy case into corners of back pages. Isn't there some lack of proportion in news emphasis? Which deserve news priority -- the activities of gamblers or the theft of atom bomb secrets which

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may one day result in the deaths of millions of Americans? Finally, was it merely coincidental that the crime committee staged its hearing in New York at the same time as the trial of the atom bomb spies?

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MILITARY MYSTERIES: The Pentagon needs more money, but the Administration unaccountably has not asked Congress for more military appropriations. This situation is not well-known, but is now beginning to leak out. The Defense Department (it is reliably conveyed to us) has been spending various large sums necessary to the creation of Eisenhower's European Army and has obtained these funds from accounts which have nothing to do with that army. But now these accounts are running low, no more funds have been authorized and the Administration has made no move either to speed up appropriations for the European Army nor to replenish the other accounts surreptitiously used for that army's purposes. Such funds, of course, will be eventually provided. But speculation among insiders centers on the hesitation of the Administration leaders to obtain the funds. Why have not Democratic leaders on Capitol Hill started the legislative machinery to get the money? Are they waiting until the expected end of the Great Debate, until the "troops for Europe" question has been settled? Or has the unexpected strength and tenacity of the Opposition -- Wherry, Taft, Lawrence Smith, et al. -- made the Administration leaders pause?

---- Diplomatic circles here are buzzing over a story which for some reason has not reached the American press. They say that Eisenhower last week made a public statement in Paris which appeared in Turkish papers on March 16, and was circulated by the news agency France-Presse. The General, according to this account, declared that Soviet Russia and its satellites should beware of another European "Army" which is anti-Communist but is so far unconnected with the troops of the North Atlantic Treaty powers; and the General emphasized that this force -- composed of the Greek, Turkish, Yugoslav and Spanish armies -- amounts to approximately 100 divisions. Military observers may wrangle over the real military value of these 100 divisions. But most of them agree that the Turkish and Spanish forces have real fighting spirit. What interests diplomats is that Eisenhower has apparently recognized the military potential of Spain -- something which neither Acheson nor the chancelleries of Britain and France have so far acknowledged.

---- Not so much of a mystery (to those who have long memories) is a report of the activities of the Left-wing "peace" delegations which visited Capitol Hill last week. Some members of these delegations went to Arlington Cemetery and placed wreaths on the graves of General Joseph W. Stillwell and Marine Colonel Evans Carlson. Did not these two military figures, when alive in China, materially assist in the scuttling of the Chiang Kai-shek regime?

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FRENCH PRESIDENT'S VISIT: M. Auriol's visit to the United States is principally designed to promote better feeling between the two countries and to cement ties of alliance in face of the Soviet danger. However, as usual, there are some little pieces of business which neither the Government of the Fourth Republic nor the State Department cares to make public as yet. We learn from highly reliable sources that France's Chief Executive will privately take up with the State Department and Mr. Truman the shortage of newsprint in France. It will be pointed out that continuance of such a situation will severely handicap the anti-Communist elements and parties during the general election which will be held this year, perhaps within a few months; for they will have little paper for their propaganda. The Communist Party of France, on the other hand, will not suffer from this shortage; its posters and newspapers will be even more numerous because they will be able to obtain newsprint through courtesy of the Soviet Union. Similar aid was given by Moscow during previous elections in France. In short, the French President will put the case for special allocations of newsprint to France as an anti-Communist measure. Mr. Truman, through his war-powers, will be in a position to satisfy this French petition.

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However, it remains to be seen whether the U.S. Government will grant the French request, and if granted, how liberally the newsprint will be doled out. For already there is a tight situation in this product in America, as many publishers are not loathe to say. Nor has it passed unnoticed that the plans of the Defense Production Board to publish a weekly Government newspaper devoted to mobilization have hardly brought forth enthusiasm among private newspaper publishers.

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NEW CHAIRMAN OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD: The White House chose Mr. William McChesney Martin, Jr. to be Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board principally because it expected general approval of this appointment. Reliable Administration sources say that this was the motive behind the choice of Martin, that the Administration had been craving a good, popular key appointment which would help to offset the bad effects of the RFC scandals. Apparently this Administration strategy has succeeded, judging from editorial comments in the press. For Martin has long enjoyed popularity on Capitol Hill and in the financial community of the country; yet, at the same time, he has not drawn fire from the Left.

Among those who have watched Martin's career in Government service, he is regarded as a highly exceptional phenomenon in the Washington scene. He is an enlightened Conservative -- but not of the so-called "liberal" variety. His known opposition to Point Four and other world boondoggling schemes is recalled. At the same time, he is not believed to be a last-ditch opponent of higher interest rates, and "unplugging" of the Government bond market. After all, he negotiated the recent "compromise" between the Treasury and the FRB which resulted in the Federal Reserve's withdrawal of support from Government bonds.

Martin has great integrity. If he had wished to play "the old Washington game" at the outset of his career in the Capital, he might well have gone far, might well have by this time emerged as one of the commissars of war mobilization or defense, or some other high political position. For, he has an engaging personality, and could well have attracted the support of the Administration columnist claque which has helped many an opportunist to high office. Instead, Martin has dodged publicity and politics, and adhered to a quiet course of helping the Treasury avoid many a Fair Deal reef and shoal. There are some who expect Martin to play the Administration game as head of the Board. If he does so, we will be surprised.

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BOND MARKET: The Federal Reserve Board won't talk. What its policy is regarding interest rates and the support of government bonds is still a matter of conjecture. Only this is certain, that the Government is offering non-transferable bonds bearing an interest rate of 2-3/4 per cent to replace 19 billion dollars' worth of 2-1/2 per cent bonds. The obvious purpose is to prevent the monetization of these homecoming bonds. But, the national debt is represented by well over 250 billions in bonds, including over 50 billions of savings bonds. It must be assumed that when bonds reach maturity date, the same effort to prevent monetization will be tried. How about the savings bonds? No interest rate is specified, the interest being figured into the redemption value; the holder receives at maturity $4 for the $3 he invested. How will the monetization of these bonds be prevented? Some day the Federal Reserve Board will have to talk.

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BIRTHDAY: On April 1, 1951, the Western Union Telegraph Company will have achieved its centennial. History records that several years before the company was founded, Inventor Morse had offered his contraption to the United States Government. Con-

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gress appropriated enough for an experimental telegraph line between Baltimore and Washington. It proved successful, but the Government relinquished its option on the invention because it feared that the telegraph would add to the deficit of the Post Office Department, which would have the task of running it. Those were the days when Post Office deficits were looked on with disfavor; officials -- and economists -- had not yet discovered that a Government deficit merely represents an increase in "social services", that a Government loss is in fact a public gain. Congress rejected the telegraph and Morse turned to private capital.

A hundred years have passed. In 1950, the Western Union Telegraph Company, owned by 20,944 stockholders, including 3,817 employees, showed a net income of $7,319,776. It paid taxes. In the same year, 1950, the United States Post Office Department admitted to a loss of over a half billion dollars; and this is not the entire deficit, for such operational costs as rent, depreciation, insurance and employees' pensions are not included in the Department's calculations. Finally, the Post Office pays no taxes.

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ANOTHER WEDEMEYER REPORT: General A. C. Wedemeyer made a speech on March 5 in San Francisco, where he is stationed as Commander of the Sixth Army. It should be recalled that the General's famous report on China showed a political wisdom and foresight apparently denied to his superiors. His last job in the Pentagon was that of chief planner for the Army, and some say he was shifted to the West Coast in 1949 because of differences on strategy with the Administration. In the midst of the Great Debate, what does this distinguished Army planner have to say?

If we read his words aright, the General lays his main emphasis on the necessity of creating a world strategy that will be essentially American. As a text in point, he chooses to recall a humiliating chapter in our policy-making during World War II when the Roosevelt "blank-check" course was in full swing. He says: "The American, British and other members of the Allied team unquestionably lost hard-earned opportunities to supplant Hitler's totalitarian regime with one based on Western ideas of constitutional government. A blueprint for rehabilitation and territorial adjustments should have been provided to insure political and economic developments in consonance with our national interests. This plan should have been proposed and agreement with Allies reached, at the time of our entrance into the war or shortly thereafter, when we were lend-leasing billions of dollars worth of supplies to said Allies, and when we possessed decisive military power, particularly in the air and on the seas."

But that is painful history. What to do now? His advice is that "we must insure that we do not repeat the costly blunders of the past". And obviously he feels that a policy of American nationalism, of America first, of firmness with our allies as well as our potential enemies, is the best course. He puts it this way: "We should understand that their [other nations] efforts invariably will be in their own national interests. . . . We hope that the aims of other countries will be compatible with our own. We should always be prepared to make reciprocal efforts to avoid or alleviate conflicting interests. However, both friends and foes will respect us more, and greater success in national and international affairs will attend our efforts, if we indicate our capacity to resist their pressures -- if we give proof of dynamic and courageous leadership -- if we approach national problems in the American way and in American interests."

And then Wedemeyer offers this grim reminder: "Thousands of Americans are fighting desperately in Korea -- fighting a cruel enemy in a bitterly cold and distant land. Casualties and the costs are mounting steadily. Paradoxically, we are fighting an enemy that only a short time ago was making strong protestations of friendship."

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